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THE IMPLICATIONS OF HOFSTEDE'S DIMENSIONS OF CULTURAL VARIABILITY FOR FIRST CONTACT SITUATIONS

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Major Joseph P. Hoppa

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Preface

In this study, I address a specific and increasingly frequent force protection challenge facing US military commanders during overseas contingency operations. US military commanders must obtain accurate and timely threat information in order to make solid decisions regarding the security of US forces under their command. During military contingency operations, special agents of the Air Force Office of Special Investigations (AFOSI) are called upon to establish a vital information link with foreign law enforcement agencies. I address the specific challenge of communicating with a foreign law enforcement agency *across cultures*, in a time constrained environment, in order to obtain information about threats to US forces, resources, and operations.

I chose this research to assist fellow AFOSI agents who deploy to foreign environments in a force protection role. AFOSI agents must be ready to respond at a moment's notice to crises throughout the world, yet many agents have received only rudimentary training in the collection of threat information from foreign law enforcement agencies. I propose four dimensions of the law enforcement culture and then analyze those dimensions within the context of Hofstede's broader dimensions of cultural variability. I explore the implications of Hofstede's dimensions of cultural variability for first contact situations between AFOSI agents and foreign law enforcement agencies. There are further implications of this research for enhancing existing relationships between AFOSI and all law enforcement agencies, not just those overseas.

I gratefully acknowledge the valuable guidance and assistance I received from my research advisor, Dr. Abigail Gray, Air Command and Staff College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. I also appreciate the support of fellow AFOSI agents in my search for documents and reports, especially Lt Col Eric Orlinski, AFOSI Detachment 405, Maj Mary Peterson and Maj Friend Walker, Headquarters, AFOSI.

Abstract

This study examined the interrelationships between Hofstede's dimensions of cultural variability and the proposed dimensions of the law enforcement culture, and explored the implications of those interrelationships for first contact situations between Air Force Office of Special Investigations (AFOSI) agents and foreign law enforcement agencies. The author reviewed historical-critical, quantitative, and qualitative law enforcement literature and proposed four dimensions of the law enforcement culture. These dimensions are uncertainty, authority, solidarity, and individualism. The proposed dimensions of the law enforcement culture are further explored within the context of Hofstede's four dimensions of cultural variability (uncertainty avoidance, power distance, individualism-collectivism, and masculinity-femininity). AFOSI agents can use Hofstede's dimensions of cultural variability to plan, direct, and explain their efforts to collect threat information from foreign law enforcement agencies in first contact situations. Hofstede's dimensions of cultural variability can assist AFOSI agents in addressing the critical tasks of establishment of credibility, use of incentives, selection of sources, and evaluation of information. Formal training initiatives will help AFOSI agents understand the implications of Hofstede's dimensions of cultural variability not only in first contact situations with foreign law enforcement agencies but also in a variety of foreign and domestic situations.

Chapter 1

Introduction

A primary mission of the Air Force Office of Special Investigations (AFOSI) during military contingency operations is to obtain accurate threat information for the protection of US military forces operating in a country or region. For the purpose of this study, threat information refers to the planned overt or covert activities of individuals or groups which endanger US military forces, resources, or operations. Military commanders are acutely aware of the necessity to protect their forces and depend heavily on AFOSI for such information. To obtain this information, AFOSI agents must often communicate with foreign law enforcement agencies, sometimes under critical and urgent circumstances. The challenge of such a mission is compounded by both the increase in US military operations overseas and the decrease in permanent overseas US military installations. Therefore, is very likely AFOSI will increasingly encounter situations in which relations with a foreign law enforcement agency have not been previously established.

The interrelationships between the proposed dimensions of the law enforcement culture and the dimensions of cultural variability identified by Hofstede[1] lead to powerful implications for first contact situations between AFOSI agents and foreign law enforcement agencies. A first contact situation is herein defined as the initial interaction

or series of interactions between AFOSI agents and foreign law enforcement officers or officials. A review of historical-critical, quantitative, and qualitative law enforcement literature reveals four proposed dimensions of the law enforcement culture: Those proposed dimensions are (1) uncertainty, (2) authority, (3) individualism, and (4) solidarity. The four proposed dimensions of the law enforcement culture are examined within the context of Hofstede's four dimensions of cultural variability (uncertainty avoidance, power distance, individualism-collectivism, and masculinity-femininity). Hofstede's seminal study across 67 countries has been instrumental in the development of cross-cultural issues and literature.[2] His dimensions of cultural variability provide a tested framework for both exploring the proposed dimensions of the law enforcement culture and for guiding and directing AFOSI collection efforts in first contact situations with foreign law enforcement agencies. Although the author does not predict success in AFOSI's mission to collect threat information from foreign law enforcement agencies, the author will explore new and powerful implications of the dimensions of cultural variability for AFOSI agents during first contact situations with foreign law enforcement agencies.

Notes

[1] Geert H. Hofstede, *Culture's Consequences* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1980), 92-100, 153-161, 213-219.

[2] William B. Gudykunst and Young Yun Kim, Eds. *Readings on Communicating with Strangers.* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1992), 70-1. Mikael Sondergaard, "Hofstede's Consequences—A Study of Reviews, Citations, and Replications," *Organizational Studies* 15, N3 (Summer 1994), 447-457.

Chapter 2

Review of Law Enforcement Literature

This study begins with the idea that law enforcement is an organizational culture[1] dedicated to the task of fighting crime and preserving order. Bittner defines law enforcement as the "empowerment and requirement to impose or coerce a professional solution upon emergent problems, without having to brook or defer to opposition of any kind, and that further, the competence to intervene extends to every kind of emergency, without any exception whatever."[2] The idea of law enforcement as the competent application of violence to coerce order in a situation provides valuable insight into the sometimes paradoxical dimensions of the law enforcement culture as law enforcement organizations seek to define themselves and the world around them.

The roots of contemporary Western law enforcement agencies can be traced in large part to the British model developed in the early 19th century and subsequently exported throughout the British Isles, British Commonwealth of Nations, British colonies and protectorates, and several other countries.[3] The British crime waves and riots of the late 18th and early 19th Century compelled Sir Robert Peel in 1829 to inaugurate an Act of Parliament that established the first organized police force in London. This police force, named the Metropolitan Police Force, was to preserve the public tranquillity by "such vigilance and activity as may render it extremely difficult for anyone to commit a crime

within that portion of the town under their charge."[4] Prior to the establishment of the Metropolitan Police Force, law enforcement was often left to armed citizens or servants, or the military in the event of serious trouble—who usually arrived too late.[5] Immediately after the establishment of the Metropolitan Police Force, numbers of violent crimes decreased while convictions for minor offenses increased.[6] The successful efforts of the Metropolitan Police Force of London to preserve peace and order caused British Parliament to compel all counties in Britain to form their own police forces.[7] Bittner argues that the "shift in values from prowess and chivalry to material gain and enterprise was expressed in aspirations of the abolition of violence and installation of peace as permanent conditions."[8]

Although the unique organization, principles, and values of the British law enforcement agencies were exported throughout the British Empire,[9] the law enforcement agencies of those states not influenced by the British system must also be explored. Cramer's massive compilation of data from 124 law enforcement agencies throughout the world provides insight into the independent development of law enforcement agencies in other states. Cramer contacted state governments throughout the world and requested information about the organizational structure, training, and methodology of law enforcement agencies in that state. Although Cramer's compilation of data was somewhat hampered by the fact some state authorities did not honor his request for information,[10] the magnitude and breadth of his study makes it very useful as a starting point for the review of law enforcement literature.

Cramer found that while methodologies and organizational structures of law enforcement agencies vary from state to state, there are some fundamental commonalties:

First, all strive to fight against crime and preserve peace and good order. Second, law enforcement agencies are an organized and hierarchical body of paid professionals. Third, elements of law enforcement agencies usually wear distinctive uniforms and other paraphernalia which distinguish them from the average citizen. Cramer's findings that law enforcement agencies were hierarchical in nature, with street patrols forming a large base at the bottom, a distinct bureau of investigators or detectives higher up, and an administration headed by a chief or government official at the top reflect the structure of the first British force of 1829 which was composed of one Chief Magistrate (also called Senior Commissioner), eight Superintendents, 20 Inspectors, 88 Sergeants, and 895 Constables.[11]

Cramer's conclusions are supported by Bayley's comparative study of 28 law enforcement agencies from five large countries (United States, Canada, Japan, Australia, and Great Britain). Bayley collected information both on the performance of certain law enforcement forces over a twenty-year period and on the activities and operations of a cross section of law enforcement stations. Bayley also interviewed law enforcement managers, supervisors, and officers.[12] Bayley found that street officers have a status distinct from that of detectives or investigators. Street officers must live with danger and uncertainty on a daily basis.[13] They do not control their own schedules and are limited to few promotion opportunities.[14] Street officers are expected to make split-second command decisions yet are often the least experienced members of the force and are often paid hourly wages. Detectives, on the other hand, are a separate group of experienced officers who investigate crimes in depth and control more of their own schedule. They form a distinct group with "rituals of membership, usually involving drinking."[15] Bayley

also found that law enforcement managers insist on top-down compliance with regulations and procedures which are usually very extensive as they attempt to cover almost every contingency. This expectation produces a sense of powerlessness which stifles initiative on the part of the working force and serves to create animosity toward management.[16] Bayley found that a common manifestation of the animosity of the working force toward law enforcement management was a code of secrecy or silence in which officers were unwilling to regulate or report the behavior of peers.[17]

Westley explored the interaction of law enforcement agencies with the general public. He observed the daily activities of a small American law enforcement department (city population approximately 140,000) for four months and then systematically interviewed 92 officers (or 47 percent of the total force)[18]. Westley concluded that law enforcement officers view the public as the enemy.[19] Law enforcement officers meet greatly varied portions of the public and are often exposed to the worst of society. Because the public is seen as hostile, untrustworthy, and sometimes violent, law enforcement officers develop a strong solidarity with and dependency upon each other.[20] Part of this solidarity in the face of a hostile external environment is the code of secrecy or silence which becomes the vehicle for self-protection. Westley discovered that in addition to using force and violence for the preservation of peace and order, law enforcement officers also use force and violence as a means to maintain their authority and the public's respect for them.[21]

Niederhoffer examined the internal problems of American urban law enforcement departments. He combined personal experience as a law enforcement officer with interviews of law enforcement officers across the country.[22] He also conducted a

qualitative study of cynicism in law enforcement using a sample group of 220 law enforcement officers.[23] Niederhoffer explored the notion that large urban law enforcement agencies are bureaucracies in which members of the force "lose their bearings in the labyrinth of hierarchy, specialization, competitive examinations, red tape, impersonality, rules and regulations, massive files, and authority in one's office rather than in his person."[24] Law enforcement officers attempt to deal with the uncertainty of this bureaucracy by identifying with a particular group. Rookie officers must learn the law enforcement "language"[25] and comply with rituals such as drinking and the daily "coffee and…"[26] ritual in order to join the group. The detectives form a separate group with distinctive dress (usually suits and ties) and unique rituals. Niederhoffer's observation that detectives usually have more freedom than street officers to "form and utilize contacts with the criminal world"[27] has significant implications for an outside agency interested in collecting accurate information. Niederhoffer found that the individual patrol or street officers have the heavy responsibility to decide if and how the law should be applied in any given situation yet have little prestige or status within their own law enforcement agency.[28] Niederhoffer concludes that the lack of prestige combined with heavy responsibility creates frustration, bitterness, and cynicism in patrol or street officers working in large American law enforcement departments. Niederhoffer also found that detectives and senior officers have significantly less cynicism than street officers.[29] An interesting conclusion with cross-cultural implications is that the reception of awards and citations of merit reduced the level of frustration and cynicism in those law enforcement agencies where the giving of citations was not routine or common.[30]

Manning's historical-critical analysis of American law enforcement organizations support many of the notions of Bayley, Westley, and Niederhoffer. Manning suggests that the fundamental premise underlying the law enforcement culture is the uncertainty of life. Law enforcement officers respond to their task of creating order within this uncertainty by generating collective ties and mutual dependency. The code of secrecy or silence and the use of force are tools to strengthen solidarity and deal with this uncertainty. Manning further found that rituals, ceremonies, and myths also play a part in the ordering of the law enforcement officer's world and serve to fix the perception of the world as uncertain. The complexity of the law enforcement officer's mission and the uncertainty of each new situation, compounded by the chronic lack of information about the situation, lead to the creation of myths and rituals by officers which codify the image of themselves as "public servants, standing ready to enforce the law against a dangerous and uncertain world."[31] The images are especially reinforced by those officers attracted to the "excitement of chases, the danger-filled episode, or the life-threatening intervention at a crime scene,"[32] even though dangerous work may account for less than 10 percent of the patrolman's time.[33]

Bittner's historical-critical monographs focus on the function and role of law enforcement in American society. He concludes that uncertainty in law enforcement work is due in large part to a "mind-boggling variety of duties expected of the police, including that of a nurse, psychiatrist, and social worker."[34] He approaches the notion that law enforcement is unpredictable by stating, "It is more correct to say that anything unpredictable that cannot be dismissed or assimilated to the usual is *pro tanto* a proper target of police attention."[35] Bittner concludes that although law enforcement agencies

are highly bureaucratized and full of regulations, law enforcement officers are "quite alone and independent in their dealings with citizens."[36] The independence of law enforcement officers and the expectation that law enforcement officers can handle any situation produces a sense of unchallenged authority; that is, while law enforcement officers derive authority from law, they can decide to invoke or not invoke it during any situation.

Finally, Cain's analysis of the roles of city and rural law enforcement forces in Britain presents further evidence of certain commonalties. Cain drew several conclusions after observing British law enforcement agencies and conducting 119 interviews with British law enforcement officers. First, strong ties of mutual dependency exist in all law enforcement agencies, but especially city law enforcement agencies. This is due not only to the fact city law enforcement officers work in larger numbers over a smaller area but also to a perception that society was generally hostile and undesirable.[37] City law enforcement officers perceived their role as criminal law enforcement, and therefore did not depend on the public to do their work.[38] Second, a code of secrecy existed among street officers and inspectors respectively. The most common secret was the location and use of "easing facilities"[39] where relaxing and drinking could occur during duty hours. The illicit behavior of fellow officers was another secret to be kept from superiors. Cain found that rural law enforcement officers shared in the code of secrecy but to a lesser degree. Easing activities usually occurred with the general public and were seen as a normal part of their duties in order to better community relations. A final characteristic of both groups, but especially city law enforcement officers, was the "exclusion of unknown and untried men from this group."[40] Cain points out that law enforcement

officers distrusted new recruits and those fellow officers who worked frequently with senior officers. Cain also discovered that law enforcement officers distrusted those officers they felt might not support a fellow officer who fell into difficulties with seniors. Cain found, however, that this distrust did not extend to those officers in need of assistance from fellow officers or in a dispute with members of the public, in which case any law enforcement officer would be supported by the others.[41]

The author suggests that the review of the law enforcement literature for this study reveals four basic proposed dimensions of the law enforcement culture: (1) individualism, (2) solidarity, (3) uncertainty, and (4) authority. These proposed dimensions provide a new perspective on the law enforcement culture—an organized, professional force chartered to preserve peace and order. They originate from two perspectives which mutually support each other. On the one hand, they are a product of a law enforcement agency looking outward at the role it plays in society, at the type of situations it must respond to and encounter, and the mechanisms needed to preserve itself. On the other hand, they are a product of the law enforcement organization itself, with its hierarchical structure, class distinctions, and propensity to give the most responsibility and on-scene authority to the least experienced street officers. Law enforcement agencies, not unlike the military but with much more frequency, attempt to preserve and protect themselves while maintaining order and peace, paradoxically, through the controlled application of force and violence.

Notes

[1] Culture: A pattern of basic assumptions—invented, discovered, or developed by a given group as it learns to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration—that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore to be

taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems. Edgar H. Schein, *Organizational Culture and Leadership* (San Francisco, California: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1985), 8

[2] Egon Bittner, "Florence Nightingale in Pursuit of Willie Sutton: A Theory of the Police." In *The Potential Reform of Criminal Justice*, ed. Herbert Jacob, Beverly Hills: Sage, 1974), 18.

[3] Egon Bittner, *The Functions of the Police in Modern Society* (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1970), 17.

[4]W. L. Melville Lee, *A History of Police in England* (London: Methuen & Co., 1901), 241-2.

[5] Charles Reith, *A New Study of Police History* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1956), 25.

[6] Lee, 243.

[7] James Cramer, *The World's Police* (London: Cassell, 1960), 17.

[8] Bittner, *The Functions of the Police in Modern Society*, 16.

[9] Reith, 132.

[10] Cramer, Acknowledgments.

[11] Reith, 131.

[12] David H. Bayley, *Police for the Future* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), vii-viii. (The number of interviews was not provided).

[13] Ibid., 70-71.

[14] Ibid., 66-67. (The exception is Japan which has a much higher probability of promotion, 74).

[15] Ibid., 57.

[16] Ibid., 60.

[17] Ibid., 67.

[18] William A. Westley, *Violence and the Police: A Sociological Study of Law, Custom, and Morality* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1970), 12-13, 197.

[19] Ibid., 48-108.

[20] Ibid., 49.

[21] Ibid., 111.

[22] Arthur Niederhoffer, *Behind the Shield: The Police in Urban Society* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1967), v. (The number of interviews was not provided).

[23] Ibid., 187-242.

[24] Ibid., 11.

[25] Ibid., 54.

[26] Ibid., 54-7.

[27] Ibid., 80.

[28] Ibid., 60.

[29] Ibid., 234.

[30] Ibid., 237-9.

Notes

[31] Peter K. Manning, *Police Work: The Social Organization of Policing* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1977), 323-325.

[32] Ibid., 302.

[33] Ibid., 377.

[34] Bittner, "Florence Nightingale in Pursuit of Willie Sutton: A Theory of the Police," 30.

[35] Ibid., 32.

[36] Bittner, *The Functions of the Police in Modern Society*, 27.

[37] Maureen E. Cain, *Society and the Policeman's Role* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), 232.

[38] Ibid., 229.

[39] Ibid., 190-1.

[40] Ibid., 79.

[41] Ibid., 231.

Chapter 3

Dimensions of Cultural Variability

Hofstede identified four dimensions of cultural variability which provide broad explanatory concepts for differences between cultures. Hofstede labeled these dimensions uncertainty avoidance, individualism-collectivism, power distance, and masculinity-femininity (Figure 1).

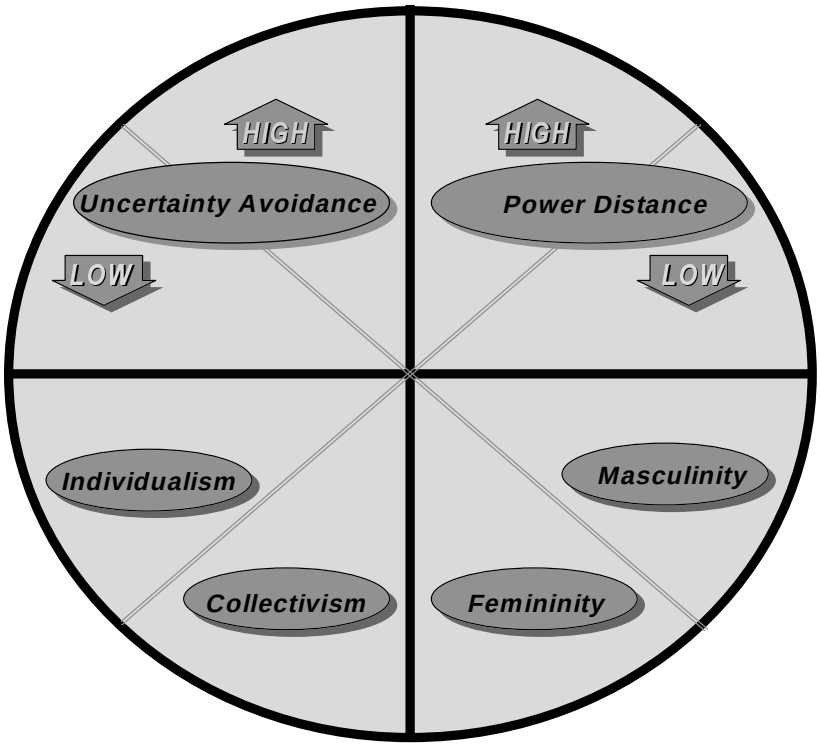

Figure 1. Hofstede's Dimensions of Cultural Variability

The examination of the author's four proposed dimensions of the law enforcement culture (individualism, solidarity, uncertainty, and authority) within the context of Hofstede's dimensions of cultural variability (Figure 2) leads to powerful implications for first contact situations between AFOSI and foreign law enforcement agencies.

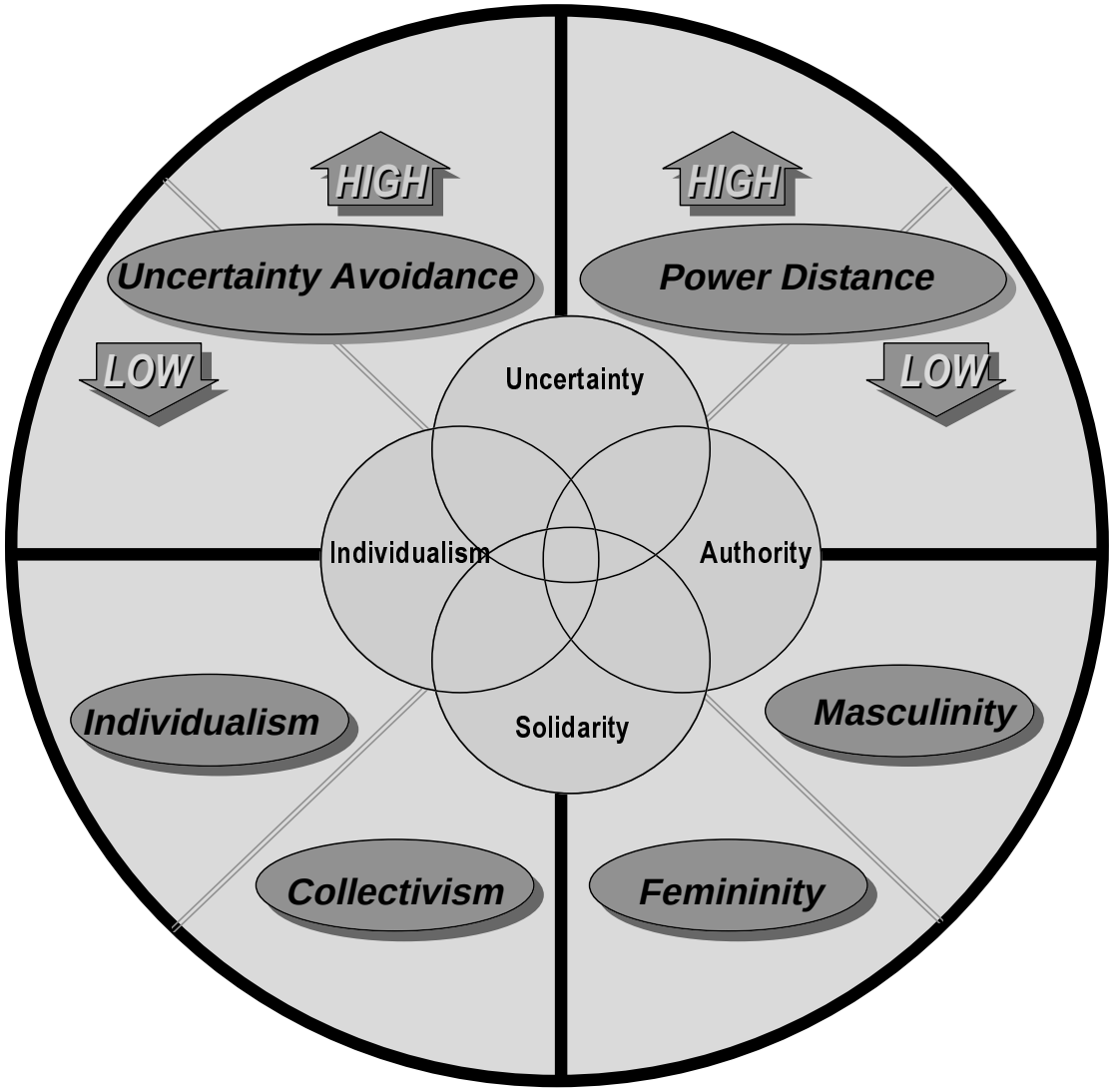

Figure 2. The Four Proposed Dimensions of the Law Enforcement Culture within Hofstede's Dimensions of Cultural Variability

Uncertainty Avoidance

Hofstede's study supports the notion that a fundamental dimension of any culture is the level of tolerance it has for uncertainty and ambiguity. Hofstede labeled this dimension "uncertainty avoidance."[1] According to Hofstede, cultures high in uncertainty avoidance value conformity, maintain rigid codes of belief and behavior, and do not tolerate deviation, while cultures low in uncertainty avoidance maintain a "more relaxed atmosphere where deviance is more easily tolerated."[2]

Law enforcement agencies as well as individual officers use groups, rituals, codes, and myths to help them deal with the uncertainty of their work. How members of a foreign law enforcement agency perceive and handle danger and uncertainty can be critical factors in first contact situations. On the one hand, the level of uncertainty avoidance can explain how strangers, including foreign law enforcement officers, are treated. A high degree of uncertainty avoidance may be expressed in a myriad of rules and regulations governing potential situations. Rules governing cooperation between agencies would need to be discovered and followed if one is to gain access to the agency. On the other hand, a high degree of uncertainty avoidance may also determine the quality and type of information available. Law enforcement agencies high in uncertainty avoidance may have established a tight network of reliable informants to maximize quality information available to the department. The existence of an established, reliable source network has tremendous implications for an outside agency interested in accurate threat information. Conversely, law enforcement forces willing to tolerate a great deal of uncertainty and ambiguity may assume a more reactive posture. They may not have

established a productive human source network, which means an outside agency would have to recruit and cultivate its own sources.

Individualism-Collectivism

Hofstede's second dimension of cultural variability is that of "individualism-collectivism." He concluded the dimension of "individualism-collectivism" was a major explanatory concept for differences across cultures.[3] According to Hofstede, individualistic cultures place emphasis on the achievements, initiative, and goals of the individual, while collectivist cultures subordinate those to group membership and the goals of the group.

Despite rituals, codes, and regulations, law enforcement officers are expected to function independently in making discretionary, often hasty, judgments in any given situation. Law enforcement officers strive for individual accomplishments, such as difficult arrests, as a means to gain promotion or citations.[4] Bayley points out that US law enforcement officers are much more independent than prosecutors or judges, working alone and often out of the public eye. Law enforcement officers often decide whether or not a situation will result in invocation of the criminal justice system, and if invoked, what the outcome will probably be.[5] As Bittner suggests, "The fact that all police officers are in some sense individual entrepreneurs while they are also dependent on one another gives their unity a fraternal cast."[6]

The proposed dimension of individualism within the law enforcement culture carries unique implications for communication with foreign law enforcement agencies in first contact situations. For example, the degree of emphasis placed on individual initiative

and achievement would assist an outside agency in determining the best (or least offensive) way to use incentives or gifts. Further, the lure of formal recognition or citations of merit, perhaps as a means for promotion, from a ranking US official might inspire foreign officers to devote significant energy to assist AFOSI's collection efforts.

The proposed law enforcement culture's dimension of solidarity can easily be examined within the context of Hofstede's dimension of collectivism and, as such, is laden with potential for communication with foreign law enforcement agencies. Law enforcement officers form tight bonds with each other and exclude untested outsiders. AFOSI agents have the advantage of being credentialed law enforcement officers as well as military members. While the likelihood that foreign law enforcement officers would invite AFOSI agents into their inner circles during first contact situations might be slim (but very welcome), AFOSI agents can use their law enforcement status to gain access to foreign law enforcement agencies and establish a degree of solidarity.[7] AFOSI agents could concentrate their efforts on a particular group, such as the detective corps. Learning their rituals and unwritten rules may be an effective means to accommodate and join that group. The quality of information, but much more importantly, the level of effort foreign law enforcement officers would be willing to expend to use their network to find the type of information AFOSI was seeking might change dramatically.

AFOSI agents can explore additional implications of the dimension of individualism-collectivism that extend beyond the foreign law enforcement agencies to the broader society of a particular country. For example, understanding this dimension in a society can assist AFOSI's efforts to recruit and motivate outside sources of information. This dimension can also help AFOSI agents understand the general nature of threats they may

face. For example, seemingly isolated criminal or terrorist actions by members of a highly collectivist society may actually be parts of a well-coordinated effort by a hostile group.

Power Distance

Hofstede's broad study led to a third dimension of cultural variability called "power distance." Hofstede defined power distance as "the extent to which the members of a society accept that power in institutions and organizations is distributed unequally."[8] Individuals in high power distance cultures accept power and authority as parts of life and consequently place high value on obedience to superiors and following orders. In a low power distance culture, individuals value equality and may question the orders of superiors before following them.[9] Hofstede's findings generally support the fundamental and central explanatory dimension of authority within law enforcement organizations. More importantly, the way in which power is distributed within the law enforcement organization and perceived by law enforcement officers and detectives can have important consequences for an outside agency attempting to gain access to the right sources of authority or information.

It is imperative in a first contact situation to determine early the authority structure and hierarchical elements of a foreign law enforcement agency. A recent study of large law enforcement agencies in Europe indicated the best cooperation between forces takes place at the "meso" level of detectives or investigators.[10] However, in a small country or region, the chief, captain, or his deputy may be the right point of contact.[11] Although establishing contact with senior foreign law enforcement officials is an essential part of

professional courtesy, the implications of spending a great deal of time with senior officials must be assessed. This is especially true of large law enforcement agencies where the most senior officials are primarily administrators, while the critical threat information and corresponding human source activities reside at a lower level.

Another manifestation of the dimension of power distance (and to a lesser extent the dimension of individualism) is the level of power and authority perceived and maintained by a foreign law enforcement agency and its officers. Individual officers in a foreign law enforcement agency can exercise considerable, even unopposed, power in their dealings with the public (and, by inference, to an outside law enforcement agency). This can have tremendous implications for a first contact situation with a foreign law enforcement agency. The level of power and authority perceived and maintained by that agency and its officers will help AFOSI agents decide whether requesting help from them or offering to assist them would be most productive in the quest for information.

Masculinity-Femininity

Hofstede's fourth dimension of cultural variability is "masculinity-femininity." According to Hofstede, this dimension "addresses the fundamental issue of the way a society allocates social roles to the sexes."[12] Hofstede found that a culture high in masculinity tended to maximize the social differentiation between the sexes. For example, in a culture high in masculinity men have outgoing and assertive roles and women have caring and nurturing roles. Hofstede found that a culture high in femininity tended to minimize the social differentiation between the sexes, for example, women can take assertive roles and men can take caring roles.[13] Highly masculine cultures value

power, assertiveness, heroism, and find motivation in achievement, performance, recognition, and admiration of the strong. Hofstede found that highly feminine cultures tend to value people, modesty, quality of life, nurturance, and find motivation in solidarity, relationships, and sympathy for the weak.[14]

In a first contact situation, the demographics of a foreign law enforcement agency may assist AFOSI in determining the masculine or feminine dimension of cultural variability within that agency. Bayley notes that law enforcement is a male dominated profession and that females account for two percent of law enforcement officers in Japan and seven to ten percent of all law enforcement officers in America, Australia, Great Britain, and Canada.[15] Bayley argues that the low percentage of female law enforcement officers is due to both the "physicality, danger, and sleaze"[16] of the work and the fact many male law enforcement officers do not welcome women because they find the employment of women as subtly demeaning to their pride and a threat to the often bawdy and lowbrow atmosphere of their work environment.[17] In a first contact situation with a foreign law enforcement agency, observing a relatively large percentage of female law enforcement officers can be a powerful indicator that the foreign law enforcement agency tends to minimize the social differentiation between the sexes and therefore could be assessed as a law enforcement agency high in femininity. However, the implications of observing a small percentage of female law enforcement officers in a foreign law enforcement agency are not so clear. Hofstede found that most institutions, in both masculine and feminine cultures, are populated by males.[18] This means that AFOSI agents must carefully observe other indicators, such as the interaction of law enforcement

officers, both with each other and the public, before making an assessment of the masculinity or femininity of that agency.

In a first contact situation, understanding the dimension of masculinity-femininity as it applies to a foreign law enforcement agency can provide powerful clues for AFOSI agents attempting to gain access, establish credibility, and obtain support from foreign law enforcement agencies. First, the rank, position, and title of the AFOSI agent(s) may be more useful to gaining access and establishing credibility with a highly masculine foreign law enforcement agency than a highly feminine one.[19] Second, AFOSI agents must also plan the means to establish credibility with a foreign law enforcement agency. Officers in a highly masculine foreign law enforcement agency may respond favorably to an AFOSI agent who is assertive and aggressive, and may welcome that AFOSI agent into their inner groups. Conversely, officers in a highly feminine foreign law enforcement agency may respond more favorably to an AFOSI agent who takes a less aggressive or more modest approach. Third, AFOSI agents can gauge the use and type of incentives on the basis of the dimension of masculinity-femininity manifested in a foreign law enforcement agency. Officers in a highly masculine foreign law enforcement agency may be motivated to assist AFOSI through the use of money, individual citations, or other forms of recognition, while officers in a highly feminine foreign law enforcement agency may find reward, satisfaction, and motivation solely in the establishment of a working relationship with AFOSI.[20]

Assessing the Dimensions of Cultural Variability

Each of Hofstede's four dimensions of cultural variability contains two possible assessments. The dimensions of uncertainty avoidance and power distance should be assessed as either "high" or "low." In contrast to a "high-low" assessment, the dimension of individualism-collectivism should be assessed as either individualistic or collectivist. Similarly, the dimension of masculinity-femininity would be assessed as either masculine or feminine. The assessment of a foreign law enforcement agency would therefore be generally represented by one of the 16 combinations of Hofstede's dimensions of cultural variability (Figure 3).

High Uncertainty Avoidance High Power Distance Individualistic Masculine	High Uncertainty Avoidance Low Power Distance Individualistic Masculine	High Uncertainty Avoidance High Power Distance Collectivist Masculine	High Uncertainty Avoidance Low Power Distance Collectivist Masculine
High Uncertainty Avoidance High Power Distance Individualistic Feminine	High Uncertainty Avoidance Low Power Distance Individualistic Feminine	High Uncertainty Avoidance High Power Distance Collectivist Feminine	High Uncertainty Avoidance Low Power Distance Collectivist Feminine
Low Uncertainty Avoidance High Power Distance Individualistic Masculine	Low Uncertainty Avoidance Low Power Distance Individualistic Masculine	Low Uncertainty Avoidance High Power Distance Collectivist Masculine	Low Uncertainty Avoidance Low Power Distance Collectivist Masculine
Low Uncertainty Avoidance High Power Distance Individualistic Feminine	Low Uncertainty Avoidance Low Power Distance Individualistic Feminine	Low Uncertainty Avoidance High Power Distance Collectivist Feminine	Low Uncertainty Avoidance Low Power Distance Collectivist Feminine

Figure 3. Possible Combinations of the Dimensions of Cultural Variability

AFOSI agents should assess the general manifestations of the four dimensions of cultural variability within a foreign law enforcement agency as early as possible in a first

contact situation. In order to make this assessment, AFOSI agents need a general understanding of Hofstede's dimensions of cultural variability. AFOSI agents should then ask the right questions and make critical observations to help them identify the combination of dimensions of cultural variability that best represents a foreign law enforcement agency. AFOSI agents can also benefit from knowing how the dimensions of cultural variability are manifested within a particular country or region. Hofstede gave relative scores on each of his four dimensions of cultural variability for fifty countries and three regions (Table 1). Hofstede ranked the dimensions of individualism, power distance, uncertainty avoidance, and masculinity on an approximate scale of zero to one hundred. Although the following list does not address all countries or regions of the world, it can help AFOSI agents assess the general manifestations of the dimensions of cultural variability of a particular country and the law enforcement agencies within that country.

Table 1. Relative Scores for Fifty Countries and Three Regions

Value of the Four Indices for Fifty Countries and Three Regions				
Country	*Individualism*	*Power distance*	*Uncertainty avoidance*	*Masculinity*
Argentina	46	49	86	56
Australia	90	36	51	61
Austria	55	11	70	79
Belgium	75	65	94	54
Brazil	38	69	76	49
Canada	80	39	48	52
Chile	23	63	86	28
Colombia	13	67	80	64
Costa Rica	15	35	86	21
Denmark	74	18	23	16
Equador	08	78	67	63
Finland	63	33	59	26
France	71	68	86	43

Country	*Individualism*	*Power distance*	*Uncertainty avoidance*	*Masculinity*
Germany (FR)	67	35	65	66
Great Britain	89	35	35	66
Greece	35	60	112	57
Guatemala	06	95	101	37
Hong Kong	25	68	29	57
Indonesia	14	78	48	46
India	48	77	40	56
Iran	41	58	59	43
Ireland	70	28	35	68
Israel	54	13	81	47
Italy	76	50	75	70
Jamaica	39	45	13	68
Japan	46	54	92	95
Korea (S)	18	60	85	39
Malaysia	26	104	36	50
Mexico	30	81	82	69
Netherlands	80	38	53	14
Norway	69	31	50	08
New Zealand	79	22	49	58
Pakistan	14	55	70	50
Panama	11	95	86	44
Peru	16	64	87	42
Philippines	32	94	44	64
Portugal	27	63	104	31
South Africa	65	49	49	63
Salvador	19	66	94	40
Singapore	20	74	08	48
Spain	51	57	86	42
Sweden	71	31	29	05
Switzerland	68	34	58	70
Taiwan	17	58	69	45
Thailand	20	64	64	34
Turkey	37	66	85	45
Uruguay	36	61	100	38
USA	91	40	46	62
Venezuela	12	81	76	73
Yugoslavia	27	76	88	21
Regions:				
East Africa (Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia)	27	64	52	41

Country	*Individualism*	*Power distance*	*Uncertainty avoidance*	*Masculinity*
West Africa (Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone)	20	77	54	46
Arab Countries (Egypt, Iraq, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Saudi Arabia, UAE)	38	80	68	53

Source: Geert H. Hofstede, "Cultural Dimensions in Management and Planning," In *Readings on Communicating with Strangers.* William B. Gudykunst and Young Yun Kim, Eds. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1992), 94-5.

Notes

[1] Geert H. Hofstede, *Culture's Consequences* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1980), 153-161.

[2] Geert H. Hofstede, "Cultural Dimensions in Management and Planning," In *Readings on Communicating with Strangers.* William B. Gudykunst and Young Yun Kim, Eds. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1992), 91.

[3] Hofstede, *Culture's Consequences*, 213-219.

[4] Bittner, "Florence Nightingale in Pursuit of Willie Sutton: A Theory of the Police," 22.

[5] Bayley, 73.

[6] Bittner, *The Functions of the Police in Modern Society*, 65.

[7] This worked exceptionally well during the security arrangements before and during the US-USSR presidential summit in Malta (December 1989). AFOSI (represented by the author) was welcomed into the Maltese police as fellow law enforcement, and gained access to critical information not available through military channels.

[8] Hofstede, "Cultural Dimensions in Management and Planning," 91.

[9] William B. Gudykunst and Young Yun Kim, *Communicating with Strangers: An Approach to Intercultural Communication* (New York, N.Y.: McGraw-Hill, 1992), 47.

[10] John Benyon, "Policing the European Union: The Changing Basis of Cooperation on Law Enforcement," *International Affairs* 70, (July 1994), 503.

[11] Air Force Office of Special Investigations, "Trip Report—The Malta Summit," 9 December 1989, 2.

[12] Hofstede, "Cultural Dimensions in Management and Planning," 92.

[13] Ibid., 92.

[14] Ibid., 92, 106-7.

[15] Bayley, 72.

[16] Ibid., 72.

[17] Ibid., 72.

[18] Hofstede, "Cultural Dimensions in Management and Planning," 92.

[19] This was borne out through numerous personal experiences of the author while stationed in Italy. Hofstede ranked Italy relatively high in the dimension of masculinity (See Table 1). Italian law enforcement agencies granted immediate and continual access

to the author who held and used the title of AFOSI Detachment Commander. Some of these were first contact situations. Conversely, during the author's first contact trips to Malta (Malta was not ranked by Hofstede but assessed as highly feminine by the author), Maltese law enforcement officials seemed inattentive to rank or title but instead were very willing to take the time to assist a fellow law enforcement officer.

[20] Again, the author's experiences overseas support this point. Italian law enforcement officers relished gifts and recognition (usually wall plaques, certificates, or American liquor) while the Maltese law enforcement officials enjoyed establishing a personal relationship with the author, showing the author around their country, and introducing the author to friends and family. Law enforcement officials from both countries were eager to help the author collect threat information for the protection of US forces.

Chapter 4

Conclusion and Implications

AFOSI agents travel alone and with the US Air Force to a variety of international settings. AFOSI's efforts to collect timely and accurate information are especially critical in first contact contingency situations when protection of US forces from a variety of threats is foremost in the mind of the commander.

AFOSI guidance and instructions use the term "liaison" to express the art of building relationships with outside agencies as a means to more productivity.[1] AFOSI instructions stress the importance of the professional as well as personal aspects of liaison, such as reciprocal assistance regarding requests for help, appropriate social activities, and personal relationships.[2] All AFOSI agent trainees are provided rudimentary training in the concept of liaison as a means to more productivity in their mission. The referenced means to conducting liaison are professional courtesy, the proper use of gifts and incentives, establishing social or personal relationships, and responding to requests for assistance in a timely manner.[3] These are activities which have proven worthwhile, but these activities may not be adequate in first contact situations with foreign law enforcement agencies. Collection efforts are often left to ingenuity of the individual agent or his immediate commander. Also, contingency situations are usually constrained by time. There may not be time to use a "hit or miss" approach with foreign law

enforcement agencies in first contact situations. The consequences of a "miss" may prove costly or even fatal to US forces operating in a country or region.

In this study, the author has examined the interrelationships between the proposed dimensions of the law enforcement culture and the dimensions of cultural variability, and explored implications of those interrelationships for AFOSI agents in first contact situations with foreign law enforcement agencies. The dimensions of cultural variability can provide solid direction to AFOSI's collection efforts in a first contact situation, constrained by time, with foreign law enforcement agencies. The interrelationship between the dimensions of cultural variability and the proposed dimensions of the law enforcement culture can also help explain relative successes or failures. For instance, why did a particular approach or use of incentives seem to work while another did not? It should be noted that while the explanation of relative success or failure of AFOSI's collection efforts may be useful, there may be no room for delay or failure in the collection of threat information during military contingency operations. The advantage of Hofstede's dimensions of cultural variability is in their ability to provide early positive direction for AFOSI's collection efforts in a first contact situation with a foreign law enforcement agency.

As a result of this study, the author recommends two formal training initiatives to help prepare AFOSI agents for first contact situations with foreign law enforcement agencies. First, training in Hofstede's dimensions of cultural variability and the proposed dimensions of the law enforcement culture should supplement the training of the "cell" of force protection experts currently being developed in Texas by AFOSI leadership. This cell of experienced agents will mobilize during contingencies as a "first in force" in a

variety of first contact situations throughout the world.[4] Second, the author strongly advocates this training for all AFOSI agents since they still might be called upon to respond to a crisis or first contact situation involving foreign law enforcement agencies.

There are implications of this study which extend beyond foreign law enforcement agencies to include many counterpart agencies in this country. Air Force installations are part of larger communities and AFOSI must also establish solid relations with local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies to perform its mission. There are also implications on a more global scale in settings where time is not a critical factor and AFOSI agents seek to establish and enhance relationships with a wide variety of foreign law enforcement agencies. Finally, although the scope of this research appears limited to those situations where a foreign law enforcement agency is present and functioning, there are even larger implications for using the dimensions of cultural variability to enhance communication between AFOSI agents and foreign government officials, foreign military members, and individual members of a foreign society.

Notes

[1] USAF Special Investigations Academy Study Guide 50BO71S-001, *Liaison*, March 1996, 1-2.

[2] AFOSI Instruction 71-112, *Liaison*, 28 September 1995, 3.

[3] Ibid., 3.

[4] Message, Headquarters AFOSI, 191100Z NOV 96, Implementation of AF Force Protection Actions, Paragraphs 3-6.

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